

180040

JPRS-EPS-84-066

22 May 1984

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

PZPR CONFERENCE PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

19980501 101

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

6
53
A04

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

22 May 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
PZPR CONFERENCE PLENARY DISCUSSIONS
CONTENTS

PZPR Conference Plenary Discussions Reported (TRYBUNA LUDU, various dates).....	1
Speech by Wacław Lada.....	1
Statement by Marian Otawa.....	2
Comments of Bogumił Ferensztajn.....	4
Statement by Eugeniusz Dublewicz.....	5
Views of Marian Turski.....	6
Statement by Edmund Dąbrowski.....	8
Comments of Bogdan Borys.....	9
Statement by Florian Siwicki.....	10
Speech of Czesław Kaczorowski.....	13
Statement by Zdzisław Balicki.....	14
Wanda Plezia's Statement.....	15
Statement by Jacek Drezewski.....	16
Speech by Bogusław Kostyniak.....	17
Statement by Jerzy Jaskiernia.....	19
Discussion by Jan Wnuk.....	20
Statement by Czesław Borowski.....	21
Views of Stanisław Bednarek.....	23
Statement by Alfons Kosiński.....	24
Comments of Bernard Androwiak.....	25
Statement by Jerzy Janiszewicz.....	26
Speech by Marian Kuszewski.....	27
Statement by Józef Kieślinski.....	28
Comments From Marian Baranowski.....	30
Statement by Franciszek Rusnarczyk.....	31
Speech by Tadeusz Pisarski.....	32
Statement by Janina Dzielak-Grzeskowiak.....	33
Views of Roman Golebiewski.....	34

Jozef Bejm's Speech.....	35
Statement by Mieczyslaw Czerniawski.....	36
Comments of Kazimierz Kowal.....	37
Statement by Krzysztof Dorosz.....	38
Discussion of Aleksander Bartnicki.....	39
Statement by Jerzy Markiewicz.....	39
Statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.....	40
Views of Mieczyslaw Luciak.....	43
Statement by Tadeusz Trzmiel.....	44
Speech of Josef Drozdziel.....	45
Statement by Kazimierz Krefta.....	46
Comments of Mirosław Tosik.....	48

PZPR CONFERENCE PLENARY DISCUSSIONS REPORTED

Speech by Wacław Lada

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Mar 84 p 8

[First secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] at the SIEKIERKI Thermal-electric Power Station in Warsaw, PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] Executive Board member, electrician-foreman]

[Text] As we assess the path that has been traveled over the 40 years of People's Poland, I think that we can say with full conviction that socialism is a working class entity. The working class has played a decisive role in the revolutionary changes. Currently, however, its class interest expresses most fully the needs related to the development of the socialist state and society. In its programs and its activity, the party expresses the interest of its class, drawing strength from the activism of the working class and Marxist-Leninist ideology. That is why the party's fundamental duty is to rebuild and deepen the trust of the working class and the principles of democratic centralism.

The Warsaw party organization gives positive marks to the results of the renewal thus far and to the cementing of ties with the working class achieved as a result of the activities of the entire Central Committee and its Politburo and Secretariat that have been consistent, realistic and based upon a well-developed system of consultation. An important role in this process has been played by the frequent presence of echelon representatives at party meetings and in the workplace, reaction to the opinions of party organizations and concern over working conditions, as well as over the just distribution of work results.

The reports-elections campaign has confirmed the validity of the path that has been chosen. Further progress along this road demands the consolidated efforts of the entire working class in overcoming community and group parochialism. This does not mean the monolithic uniformity of the working class, but unity through its diversity. Objectified class interest can and should be the element that focuses the community of activities.

It is necessary that we ask questions regarding the content of worker class interests, as was done in the materials for discussing the long-range PZPR

program. The answers that we seek to these questions must take into account the implementation of the economic reform and related new phenomena in the socioeconomic life of the country. The answers should be concretized in general, party-wide discussion. This is an essential condition for strengthening the working class in the socialist development of the country.

The past few years have shown that the level of awareness of the working class and of its younger generation above all has not kept pace with the complex processes that have occurred in society and the socialist state. The dramatic conflicts have exceeded the potential for understanding them and for their class interpretation.

We must create in the party inviting possibilities and the indispensable atmosphere for the development of self-education to deepen the knowledge gained in the accepted systems of education, including party education. This expands significantly the potential for the socioprofessional advancement of workers, which in turn enables the full self-realization of the working class as the ruling class.

Socialist social awareness ought to be molded above all in the fundamental, integrated upbringing system that includes the family, the educational system and the work community. We in the party should struggle with ardor and determination for such a system of social pedagogy. The work community plays a special role in the entire system of social pedagogy. In this way, the values system and the hierarchy of needs are molded and preserved, and program assumptions and socialism come into contact with practice. This affects working class youth above all. Plant party organizations, the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], trade unions and the cadre of technical supervision in the broad sense are responsible for forming its socialist foundations.

Statement by Marian Otawa

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Mar 84 p 8

[Central Committee member, captain of large-scale navigation at the Polish Steamship Company Enterprise in Szczecin]

[Text] Since the Ninth Congress, the Szczecin party organization has followed a course of consistent activity directed toward regaining its organizational cohesiveness and ideological identity, toward the collective working out of decisions and discipline in their implementation.

In the program of the rebuilding of the party's position, special attention has been focused upon key plants, in which there has been created a front of sociopolitical forces prepared at all times to stand in defense of socialism. The effect of this is that the party in the voivodship is a political force that steers the entire picture of socioeconomic life.

The harmonious cooperation of those people that see clearly the goal of joint activity and have confidence in their leaders is noteworthy. This does not mean that we have become accustomed to trusting on credit. Periodic evaluations

have led to the ousting of leaders that have not ensured the operation of their plant, their institution or their school according to party policy. As a result, our voivodship is obtaining economic results in industry, farming, construction and the marine economy that are above the national average.

Do we have the right to be complacent regarding our achievements? The answer is an emphatic no! Self-satisfaction is the initial manifestation of the ruinous process of the depravation of authority. Too often our own neglect and tendency to break the law are explained away by the crisis and objective difficulties. There are also party organizations that have lost their keenness of vision and, failing to perceive evils within their own surroundings, shoot the arrows of their criticism as far away from themselves as possible.

We are disturbed by the continued proliferation of institutions, particularly central institutions. Councils, commissions, central offices and administrative boards are multiplying. They are preparing new programs and positions that frequently conflict with each other. For example, three central commissions handle issues of marine management: the Central Committee Commission, the Sejm Commission and the PRON [Patriotic Council for National Rebirth] Commission. I recommend that this be re-analyzed. We cannot leave ourselves open to the charge of talking things to death. Our strength must lie in deeds, not words.

Let me return to the topic undertaken at the 13th PZPR KC Plenum: it is high time that we show the people those that have the workers party to thank for their education in People's Poland, that are doing fairly well in this same Poland and are now repaying their debt to the nation by sowing the seeds of hate and by selling their homeland for the 30 pieces of silver.

Our country that is pulling itself out of the crisis with such difficulty, plagued by the sanctions of the West, should have no room for such pseudo-intellectuals and pseudo-Poles. I send out this appeal from Szczecin, where we have a special appreciation of our ties with the national community. We are building Poland as our abilities and our needs allow. We know that the creation of Szczecin University will stop the migration of our most capable young people and that it will be a turning point in the history of Western Pomerania.

One of the party's foremost duties to the nation is to react quickly to the irregularities that occur around us. There are far too many of them. Despite this, we look optimistically into the future, noting how much has already been done on the path toward improving living conditions and the normalization of life. The party has led our homeland through the most dangerous turn in our postwar history. Thanks to the party, the specter of civil war has disappeared and hope for a better tomorrow has returned.

Comments of Bogumil Ferensztajn

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Mar 84 p 8

[PZPR KW first secretary in Katowice]

[Text] The voivodship party organization that I represent now numbers more than 260,000 members. Most of them are workers; after the last conference, these also represent over half of the party authorities. To be sure, this is the source of our strength. Nonetheless, work in such a typically worker-type organization is a great and responsible task.

The last reports-elections campaign helped greatly to strengthen the working-class character of our organization. The cry went out for more decisive party actions in the area of eliminating irregularities and shortcomings. During the elections, most of the comrades that held party positions retained them. This attests to the trust placed in the aktiv. In February, we accepted 277 comrades into the party. This is the largest number of admissions into the party during the past 3 years. Most of the new candidates are young workers.

In 1983, the Katowice Voivodship yielded a volume of industrial production that exceeded the 1982 volume by nearly 9 percent. This trend has continued through the first months of this year. We owe this to the calm, to public discipline, to the discretion of working people, to the improved work of the party organization and to the effects of the implementation of the economic reform. These results likewise emanate from the concrete assistance of the Soviet Union.

The hard work of miners that first overcame their difficulties and ensured that we would have the coal we so badly need is worthy of special admiration. Their good work was joined by the results of the work of power industry workers, metalworkers and the representatives of other industrial subbranches.

In discussions over the program of mining development, more and more often comrades note the need to work toward the optimal utilization of coal, not only for power industry purposes, but also in chemical processing.

During the reports-elections campaign the question was often asked: is it not possible for us to attain even better economic and production results? We believe that the important thing is not only to implement the economic reform--an obvious goal, but above all to make it socially and economically effective.

The example of the metals industry illustrates the idea that the work results of particular enterprises depend not only upon their own activities. In large part, they also are contingent upon the cooperation of other mills and enterprises. They also depend upon properly organized coproduction, upon work in the area of technical progress, upon the planning of renovation and production programing.

Practice shows that we are in agreement about economic goals. However, we have our differences with regard to the process of implementation that emanates not from an unwillingness to fulfill the social goal, but from something else. The reason is that many plant goals exist; they are not coordinated and no selection is made of the goals that are the most important today. This is confirmed by an analysis of the plans of particular enterprises for 1984. Their sum total does not correspond to the assumptions of the central plan. This is unfortunate. Thus, our party assessments show that governance and management efficiency is one of the essential issues of the national economy.

At one time, a great deal was said about the special role of Silesia in the country. Later every effort was made to show that we are worse than the others. We are neither better nor worse. The Katowice Voivodship, however, does possess traits that differentiate it from other regions. The location of tremendous mining and industrial potential within a small area has created very difficult living conditions for voivodship residents.

Government decisions from 1982 are of tremendous, even historic importance for the gradual, long-term solution of accumulated voivodship problems. The planned Katowice meeting of the Government Presidium is to be dedicated to assessing the implementation of this resolution and to the problems of the life of voivodship residents.

Voivodship residents do not demand privileges. They only desire that conditions will be created enabling them to increase their share in the nationwide effort.

Statement by Eugeniusz Dublewicz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Mar 84 p 8

[POP [primary party organization] first secretary at the Scientific Center for Sub-assembly and Electronic Equipment Production UNITRA-DOLAM in Wroclaw, foreman-adjuster]

[Text] During the period since the Ninth Congress, we have trod an especially difficult path. If I am able to say today that at the plant that I represent, the party has regained its leading and leadership role, this means that at every stage, even the most difficult one, we have been surrounded by people that are ready to defend the idea of socialism.

Among the many issues that I could bring up here, I consider the most important one to be the issue of the class-mindedness of party work. In the worker-peasant state, workers ought to be the collective subject of political life. This was expressed in the materials for discussion over the PZPR program.

The speaker noted the importance of the participation of workers in the party authorities and in the other bodies of the socialist democracy. He said that the 13th KC Plenum stated that our party needs more class-mindedness and more class consciousness. These will remain only slogans if we do not ensure working-class representatives their proper place in the entire party structure. We must struggle over this.

But this extends beyond the party. It concerns the entire system of the exercise of authority, of socialist democracy. The most immediate task is to ensure broad worker representation on people's councils at all levels. This must be a party concern, along with the party's placing of stiff requirements on its own candidates. These comrades must command authority in their own communities and they must be active and committed to their class.

I believe that consistent party work on this issue will create the necessary conditions for eliminating from our reality many of the irregularities in social policy and will bring our practice into compliance with the interests of producers and working people. It will also give the proper direction to social changes.

I hail from the Wroclaw of the Piast dynasty that returned to the motherland after many years. I helped to rebuild this town. I work and live in it. Like the other residents, I am proud of its economic, scientific and cultural achievements.

We can speak of the many shortcomings and imperfections that plague the inhabitants of our region. These must be eliminated. But we cannot fail to perceive that life has been restored to these lands. Compared with the massive ruin that was Wroclaw, this is of tremendous importance.

One must be aware of what was built from the ground up on these lands: Legnica-Glogow copper and all of its mines, processing plants and its entire infrastructure--this is our Polish achievement. The ports of Szczecin, the shipyards, the fishing bases and the processing plants, Police and the chemical industry, Lower Silesian farming--all of these are our Polish achievements. Wroclaw factories, scientific-technical knowhow and cultural achievements--these are undeniably Polish achievements. No enemy propaganda can refute these facts.

I cannot remain indifferent to the revisionist threats and the attempts at retaliation directed against us by the West. Nor can I stand indifferent to the attempts to question our achievements and the nonchalance exhibited by enemy forces operating within the country, or to the speeches of those that advocate changes in the power structure that guarantees our territorial integrity.

I propose that in the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, Wroclaw and the whole of Lower Silesia find their proper place, so that everyone can know that Wroclaw, the city of peace, and the ancient lands on the Oder and Nysa are linked forever with the 40-year old socialist homeland and have their own meaningful share in its national achievements.

Views of Marian Turski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Mar 84 p 8

[PZPR KW member in Siedlce, farmer from the gmina of Trzebieszow]

[Text] We hold a foremost position in Poland in milk production. Milk products are not always processed properly. With the going into production of the

new milk plants in Siedlce, Wegrow and Minsk Mazowiecki, the problem will be resolved.

Potatoes are our second specialty. During the next few years, nothing will change for the better in processing and storage. The hauling of potatoes from Siedlce to Lubon is a scandalous waste of raw materials and rail transport.

Despite breakdowns, livestock production does not look too bad. Can more be expected from Siedlce farming? Yes, but under the condition that agriculture as a priority is not just a slogan. Outlays for farming designated by the 9th Congress and the 11th Joint Plenum clearly were below planned levels. Simple tools continue to be in very short supply, and the quality of equipment is low. Reclamation and rural water supply are essential problems of farming. Every third farm in Siedlce suffers from a lack of water. At the current level of outlays for reclamation work, it will take 50 years to be completed. The proper importance must be attributed to reclamation and rural water supply.

Next M. Turski addressed problems of the profitability of farm production. Do not say that if the peasant does not sell his potatoes he will raise pigs. This kind of thinking can exacerbate the food shortage. It is not a matter of sentiment that the sheep come down from the high pastures to the low pastures: it is calculated. We are all waiting for an end to rationing; it is a sad reality for us Poles after 40 years. We have goals in common with workers--food production, production of the means of production.

The insane prices are not the fault of peasants. If the prices of the means of production increase, production and food costs also increase. We must be aware that it is not only farmers that produce bread. The responsibility of our fellow workers for food production is no less than that of farmers. We also must consider how to encourage young people to stay on the farm. This will not be achieved, however, unless we create living conditions that approach urban conditions.

The farmer must be aware that the money he obtains from production will meet his production and consumption needs. Farm policy ought to create an opportunity for the development of all farms in all sectors, including the predominantly small farms of the Podlasie-Mazowsze region. Our party created many of them 40 years ago. We have the duty of telling their owners that although they cannot live exclusively off their farms, every productive farm will be noted and its problems will be understood. Our authority has been based on these farms. They have been our closest class ally.

We say that we are waging the struggle against evil, but it is not very effective. In our country there can be no place for people that accumulate wealth at the expense of others. We cannot tolerate idleness; if words do not help, something stronger must be done. Most people wish to have a strong authority and a just one. They respect such an authority and support it. Without discipline, it will be difficult for us to pull out of the crisis.

The deliberations of our conference have fallen during the year of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. Although the present is difficult, we cannot

forget history, the achievements of the past. We cannot allow the achievements of socialist Poland to be undermined. The path of our development often was rugged, but we have done much. Rural Poland has changed its face. Poverty, overpopulation, soil depletion and the abuse of peasant children are things of the past.

Statement by Edmund Dabrowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW in Lublin, director of the Construction Schools Group in Lublin]

[Text] Today, 32 months after the Ninth Congress resolution took effect, it is being confirmed that its program is effective. This also means that what the Central Committee, the Sejm and the government have done to implement this program in full and to defend the party and socialism in Poland, in conjunction with the imposition of martial law, should also be recognized as correct and valid.

Martial law was an emergency situation; there is no difference of opinion today regarding the need for its imposition. On the other hand, party members and independents both are often heard to say that it was not used properly. According to them this is especially so with regard to such matters as the improvement of social discipline, the liquidation or neutralization of criminal elements, the struggle with the political enemy, the solution of many cadre matters and the exacting of responsibility from employees. The excessive liberalization and the inordinate concern over justice toward our enemies have been a source of irritation for simple people.

On the whole, the party is regaining its authority; however, there is still a great deal of caution, fear and mistrust among society. This is understandable. The economic crisis is that objective factor that complicates the achievement of expected results, but it is also the basis of rumor, enemy views and theories of various kinds and the field of struggle with the party, the socialist reality.

At meetings with members of the party and government leadership at all levels and with the leaders of other institutions, people speak of their problems and pains. But sometimes their complaints stop there. True, recently a great deal has been accomplished in the area of resolving complaints and suggestions, but we at the bottom sense that usually the most important thing is to register a complaint and give the petitioner an answer. Meanwhile, the citizen's hope is that the issues that have been discussed or mentioned will be resolved in full and that the evil will be eliminated. The important thing is not how many recommendations are made, but reducing the number of bad situations.

Much has been done since the Ninth Congress in intraparty affairs, in the observance of the statute. Democratic forms of steering party activity from POP's to the Central Committee are guaranteed and are observed, as a rule.

All party members work upon the party's authority. There are still many organizations that are virtual political leaders in their workplaces and their regions. More and more party members are boldly acknowledging their party membership; however, in many plants and villages, the influence of POP's is either very slight or nonexistent.

As a teacher, I cannot ignore educational issues--those issues that hinder educational development. Generally speaking, the party is rebuilding its authority in the academic community in our voivodship, but we still have a great deal to do.

In the past as now, the situation in institutions of higher learning has been complex, but there too, party influence is increasing gradually.

An excess of democratic principles frequently has a retarding effect upon properly understood democratic solutions. Perhaps it is paradoxical, but the state, which pays to support institutions of learning, has a very limited potential for influencing the proper use of these funds to provide students with the right education.

Comments of Bogdan Borys

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[KC member, PZPR KZ secretary at the B. Bierut Works in Czestochowa, fitter-foreman]

[Text] I consider the organizational stabilization and substantial ideological consolidation of our ranks to be an important achievement. Our voivodship party organization is strong enough now to please its sympathizers and command the respect of its opponents. New social, professional and self-governing structures are also arising and becoming stronger. Economic results are the general issue that determines the way society feels.

That is why the KW, plant echelons and POP's have paid careful attention in their work to prepare the plans for 1984 to free up maximum reserves and to ensure maximum compliance with the indexes of the Central Yearly Plan. We understand the party's inspirational role here to be the discussion of experts that are, at the same time, people deeply committed to and responsible for the totality of socioeconomic life.

I understand the reform primarily as the process of re-evaluating the consciousness of our party activists and the broad circles of society.

The reform slogans, for example, the famous three "S's," have been assimilated very rapidly. Meanwhile, convincing party members and independents employed directly in production of its merits is more difficult. Currently the slogan "the reform is entering the pay schedule" is popular, but very difficult to implement. Here we reach the crux of the matter: what should we pay for, and how much? It is very difficult to make people aware of the fact that to give out, one must have, i.e., one must have earned.

Meanwhile, until now not a single enterprise in Czesochowa has embarked upon a wage experiment in accordance with the January law. The reason is the unwillingness to bring up unpopular issues. We are dealing here with our own psychological barrier. The introduction of new wage systems is related, for example, to the need to verify work standards and to reduce the number of management or official positions while increasing production positions. The value of work and the creation of appropriate wage structures are contingent upon real work input, not the title of the position. But informal structures decide many of these matters.

Our results thus far in implementing the economic reform allow us to draw cautiously optimistic conclusions. It is undisputed that in 1982, the production decline was halted, and in 1983 progress was made in this area. Gathering together here for the conference, we can be proud of this. But society's reaction to the results of the implementation of the reform varies. Many of the needs and aspirations of working people have not been satisfied. It is difficult to convince people that the current 3-year plan is constructed honestly and realistically compared with the potential of our economy, to be a plan for getting us out of the crisis.

In its assumption, the reform should create equality of opportunity, and not be reduced to principles of equal distribution. The price system, coupled with the incentives system, is a fundamental pillar of the economic reform. We do not have such a system.

There should be a single criterion--an enterprise works efficiently or unefficiently, and social justice should be manifested in the guardianship role of the socialist state in the sphere of distributing generated income and in the use of such instruments as: the taxation system, the social welfare system, properly understood and the system of expanding the social infrastructure.

Statement by Florian Siwicki

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Candidate member, PZPR KC Politburo, minister of national defense, general of arms]

[Text] The period that has elapsed since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has put us all to a severe test. It has also been an unusual time for the People's Polish Army, whose unchanging primary duty is to guarantee the safety of national life. In the situation that recently existed, where the country was in danger of anarchy, where civil war stalked at its threshold and Poland was assigned the role of being a detonator before the edifice of peace, the duty of the party, the people's authority and its defense branch became that of eliminating the danger threatening our nation and socialist state. The LWP [People's Polish Army] unfailingly performed its historical mission. The results were political maturation, the discretion and the sense of responsibility of the professional cadre and the sacrificiality and discipline of basic service soldiers, reservists and civilian military workers.

Veterans, soldiers from the time of war and the time of peaceful building, also joined the ranks. All of the citizens in soldier's uniforms, faithful to the principle of the supremacy of the general welfare and the public interest over the interests of the individual, performed the tasks entrusted to them with the highest devotion.

In accordance with the class character of our people's army, we are following in the main current of our nation's socioeconomic life. Our aim is that the military should have considerable input into the creation of political-moral, material and scientific-technical values and in the resolution of the country's most vital problems.

For several years, the speaker stressed, the armed forces have been performing their constitutional duty not only under complex internal circumstances, but also under a tense international situation. The threats of danger are a direct consequence of imperialistic, aggressive, U.S. policy, actively supported by major U.S. allies. They are the consequence of the arms program being implemented by the American administration during the 1980's that is causing the swelling of the arsenals of more and more destructive weaponry on the American and European continents and on the seas and oceans.

This gigantic cache of armaments is accompanied by the more and more intensive and aggressive exercises of NATO armies. At the same time, the Warsaw Pact states are being subjected to constant reconnaissance penetration.

Our country, said the minister, is now confronted with a new kind of danger resulting from the deployment of eurostrategic armaments. Missiles with annihilative force will be able to reach every target in Poland in under a few minutes. We are subjected to constant reconnaissance from land, air, sea and outer space.

This entire unchecked arms policy slated toward the achievement of military superiority and strategic political goals is also an incentive and source of profits for arms concerns. And here lies the answer to the question: why are the many constructive initiatives of Warsaw Pact states aimed at averting the threat of nuclear war rejected so obstinately by Western ruling circles? Under the climate of sharp international tensions in the West, and especially in the FRG, there once again resounds the voice of the forces that desire a shake-up in the foundations of peaceful law and order in Europe achieved as a result of the victory over German fascism.

All this, said the minister, gives rise to the real danger of war. It also strikes out at the security of Poland, the peaceful existence of every Polish family. It is evident to every one of us that in this situation that shapes up so negatively for the issue of peace and the secure existence of our people, the militant vigilance and intensive upgrading of military efficiency are linked more indissolubly than ever with one's party and civic duty.

We are aware of the fact, continued the speaker, that the coalition force of the Warsaw Pact, the might of our fellow Soviet Army and allied cooperation multiply our defense capability. We have unfailing, devoted friends that are ready to defend our mutual cause to the end. The unity and strength of our

political-defense alliance, that includes Poland's appropriate contribution, secure the cause that is the most precious to us--peace. The defense of peace always has been and always will be the primary goal of party policy.

In the molding of the civic attitudes of society, and especially of its large younger generation, the raising of the consciousness of the existing danger of war and the developing of mutual responsibility for the future of the nation and the socialist state ought to be accompanied, as never before, by the readiness to make sacrifices in the name of its defense. This is an extremely important task of our vast upbringing system. Above all, however, it is an organizational and upbringing task for our party and all of its echelons and organizations--for us all. No one will replace us in this systematic and effective work, just as no one will take over our persistent efforts at surmounting the crisis. The Polish Army, whose inseparable function, that of the people's army, is the patriotic and civic upbringing of youth, will perfect this function unceasingly, aware of the tasks and roles it has to perform in the comprehensive, national system of upbringing and education.

The party's defense policy, its concern over our armed forces and their comprehensive development, according to our needs and potential, said the minister, causes our army to be modern, well prepared to performed the tasks that confront it.

Stressing that the army is not only a school of civic upbringing, but likewise of management efficiency, F. Siwicki noted that at the foundations of army work lie: rational organization, the general use of cost effectiveness and the economical management of every venture. We attempt to use the funds entrusted to us by the state in a manner that will be of greatest benefit to its defense capability. At the same time, to the extent that this is possible, we are performing numerous tasks to enhance the material values of our economy and to increase our nation's assets. In this way, we return some of the outlays that we have been granted to defend the country.

The recognition and thanks expressed in the 13th PZPR KC Plenum resolution to LWP soldiers for their role in securing calm and safety for the homeland is for us, said the minister, a matter of the greatest satisfaction. At the same time, we read this as our obligation to continue to serve the nation, the party and the socialist state faithfully. We are aware that these expressions of recognition and words of respect addressed to all soldiers and civilian employees of the national defense ministry apply in equal measure to those that are active in the military party organizations. The attitudes of party members in soldier's uniforms prove that the party can always count on them.

In the accounting of the achievements of our people's homeland as it celebrates its 40th anniversary, said F. Siwicki, the concrete, significant share of soldiers in Jubilee celebrations is an expression of our conviction that the work of the soldier continues to be vitally necessary to the nation and to socialist Poland and that the ideological unity of our ranks and the army's high-level combat readiness continue to be indispensable to the security and peaceful work of the nation. Confident of this, stated the minister,

we will improve indefatigably our defense capability of our homeland--the Polish People's Republic--according to its needs.

Speech of Czeslaw Kaczorowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KZ and KM [City Committee] Plenums, miner loaderman at the JOWISZ KWK [Hard Coal Mine] in Bedzin, Katowice Voivodship]

[Text] We, the workers, are aware that the party, to the extent that it was possible, made proper use of the past period in the great and difficult work of pulling the country out of the crisis. We also know today that the results would have been significantly better had there not been a frontal attack upon the party, upon everything that is linked with socialism.

Our bitter enemies, extremists from Solidarity, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee KOR] and the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] are responsible for the human tragedies and misfortunes related to the need to undertake emergency measures of action. These measures were necessary to defend society, to defend our systems-type principles.

It is bound to be disturbing that there are still people that treat our national understanding as a weakness of authority and a possibility to do it further harm. We must isolate them in our surroundings and the authorities must exact from them the full observance of the law and systems-type principles.

I am a miner and represent the profession that Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski often has referred to as the steering wheel of our economy. This wheel has been moving and turning properly since the moment that the possibilities for interfering in our work were suppressed. This is a great service to us as party members and to our party organizations.

Taking as an example our voivodship party organization, I maintain that much has changed in the party in recent years. The frequent contacts of party leaders directly with workers are a vital element of this. We the workers value these contacts, but we believe that they are only a part of the real sort of link that ought to be effected between the party and the working class.

Working people wish to have a real impact upon the creation of the current socioeconomic policy. Everyone knows that the working class has borne more than its share of the crisis, while social parasites, speculators and wheeler-dealers have gotten rich. I do not say that nothing was done about this. In our opinion, however, the actions of the state in this area have been inconsistent and, most importantly, have not yielded the kind of results the workers expect. The worker's world views these facts in the categories of social justice.

It is with great interest that we look forward to the putting into practice of the PZPR KC Plenum's order regarding new worker-peasant inspections. In taking the control issue into our own hands, however, I do not believe that

we are replacing state control organs or the institutions appointed to apprehend those that feed off economic difficulties or use service positions for their own private interests.

Our party is undertaking the right initiatives to create a system for mobilizing people to work better and better. It is the right direction, for appeals alone will achieve little. Respect must be restored for work in general and for good work in particular. People that distinguish themselves through good work and high discipline ought to be given the proper recognition in their community and ought to be properly remunerated and honored.

Society and the working class assess our party not in terms of the number of its resolutions and proposals, but in terms of the solidity of such decisions. We will be evaluated according to our actions and the effects of our actions, both within central headquarters and down in the ranks. Thus, we must be strong and persistent in our actions.

Statement by Zdzislaw Balicki

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[First secretary of the PZPR KW in Wroclaw]

[Text] We subscribe to the slogan of social justice as one of our party's foremost ideals. Upon the foundation of People's Poland, the back of glaring inequality has been broken, particularly with regard to extreme rural poverty and massive unemployment in the cities. But we are well aware of how far away we are from where we ought to be.

The concept of social justice includes many questions, but the system of wages and other income in the socialized economy is of fundamental importance here. As we take up this issue, we must deal with the muddled hypotheses of former years. Nor do I believe that we are out of danger in this field today. There is a strong push toward a wage increase associated with inflation and the decline in the living standard. The greater the allotment of the wage fund dictated by the superior authorities or the less we resist the pressure to create new rationing cards and subbranch privileges, the less the opportunity to set the system in order. I believe that we need a general unified concept for gradually reaching the proper wage system in Poland--one that is tied in with the economic reform.

In many voivodships, we are making people aware of the possibility of purchasing some items that are in especially short supply through village fairs and so-called directed sale in plants. These limit the field of speculation. We realize that this is a necessary evil, but we cannot agree with the order to eliminate this form of sale. We find it premature and unfavorable to all those that cannot buy under the counter.

Since there is such a severe housing shortage that we are as yet unable to remedy, we should control its distribution against injustices all the more strictly. The regulations, including registration regulations, hamper this.

The detailed regulations do not even ensure strict adherence to the recently enacted legal principle of one family per dwelling. We know that the Politburo deliberated recently on housing policy and that it will be discussed at an upcoming Sejm meeting. We look for the regulations to be stiffened and we have made detailed proposals in this regard.

The worker's sense of justice is offended by manifestations of the quick accumulation of wealth and the provocative life style of a part of private enterprise that contrasts glaringly with today's living standards of most working people. Workers criticize us for tolerating such a situation, even though taxes from the private sector and fines meted out by the treasury have grown many times over of late.

We also hear complaints that some real craftsmen are beginning to feel awkward in this atmosphere; they feel cramped. If this is so, it means that we are sometimes aiming in the wrong direction. Craftsmanship and some small-scale production sectors can and ought to be a permanent and useful element of our system.

In our difficult situation today, the pressures on particular workforces and subbranches are greatly manifested. Proposals are made that are well-aimed but unrealistic today. Sometimes accusations are leveled that are drawn from the arsenal of revolutionary phraseology that is unsupported by revolutionary ideology.

We must be aware of these contradictions and conflicting interests and take them into account in policy, since they represent a serious factor in the rendering unstable of moods. Here we will have to tread on thin ice again and again. The important thing here is to distribute the national income without ever losing sight of our class, socialist compass.

Wanda Plezia's Statement

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Director of the Gardening Supply Plant in Krosno-on-the-Oder, Zielona Gora Voivodship]

[Text] In examining what has been done since the Ninth Congress, we must note the positive changes while discovering what is retarding and hindering the processes of change. Consistency in the implementation of Ninth Congress resolutions is evident. This refers to socioeconomic policy and ideological-political problems. The joint action of the Central Committee is evident, as are consultation upon draft party resolutions and the party's presence in everyday life. The subject matter of plenary KC meetings is near to daily life. It focuses upon the four problems that especially plague our community.

The first subject is the market. We note an improvement in the flow of consumer goods to the marketplace. But the shift in production structure toward a structure that is more favorable for consumers continues to be too slow. This is confirmed if one reads the CPR [Central Yearly Plan] for 1984 regarding

the level of planned production in many enterprises. Under the initiative of party organizations, we have embarked upon a number of ventures in the voivodship to increase consumer goods. I do not know, however, whether we ought to make immediate improvements in, or even change the current system of consumer goods distribution. Those that do honest work do not have a chance to purchase needed items, since they are bought up first by young pensioners, by those that stand in lines and make a fortune through speculation.

Moreover, 100 assortments are under the control of central distribution. Everything, or almost everything that has been produced should thus be justly distributed. How does it happen then, that in one voivodship, you can buy a radio receiver or a television, while in another, this assortment is not to be found? Instead, you can buy bedding or floor covering.

Another problem is the price wonderworking. The government is attempting to put an end to discretionary pricing, but Polonia firms and private enterprise continue their push for high prices for low quality goods.

Agricultural and rural issues play a special role in party policy. It must be acknowledged that, compared with 1981, the shortages of the basic means of farm production have been eliminated. It was proposed in the congress resolution that the spare parts problem be resolved within 2 years. Meanwhile, they are still in short supply.

The final problem is housing construction. It is developing in various forms in the voivodship. More than 500 units have been turned over under the patronage system, 624 have been readied under the plant construction system and 720 single-family dwellings have been completed. These results fall far short of expectations. But it is a more and more frequent consideration in my mind that we may have to put the brake on this growth rate. Large urban centers have special priority. We are afraid that such favoritism, despite the lack of initiatives, may be a waste of materials and potential.

I have addressed these issues because they are linked very closely with the everyday concerns of Polish families. The party is aware of these matters and rightly gave them exceptional attention in the Ninth Congress program. While I do not dispute the results that have been achieved in resolving them, there is much to be done.

Statement by Jacek Drezewski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW in Tarnobrzeg, director of the T. Kosciuszko Power Plant in Polaniec]

[Text] The social policy of the state is implementing the principle of social justice more and more effectively. Despite all these positive changes, however, despite anticipated further changes announced in the Ninth Congress resolution, a long-range sense of planning is still lacking in the work of the party and the state. The temporal horizons of the plan are too short and changes and modifications in economic reform principles are too frequent.

The Ninth Congress and Tenth KC Plenum defined the major goals of social policy. We expected these goals to be developed and the methods to achieve them to be defined in the party's long-range program, that was to be submitted for deliberation by the National Conference, following discussion by the party and society in general.

Unfortunately, the special Ninth Congress resolution was not implemented in this area. In our opinion, the commission for preparing this program was not active enough, did not implement the tasks set before it by the congress, and submitted material for the conference deliberations that was in very rough form and unspecified, being rather a collection of slogans. This fact leads us to conclude that considerably more attention should be given in future party work to issues of the on-schedule implementation of resolutions that have been adopted.

A long-range party program is indispensable to the preparation of the plan to 1995, and especially the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the years 1986-1990. It would be advisable to initiate the implementation of this program already during these years. Thus, work on them should be stepped up considerably.

The economic situation today is extremely difficult and it is on this field that the battle over the future of socialism in Poland is being played out. For this reason, the economic part of the program should be worked out to its fullest. A clear definition of the developmental strategy of the economy will impact positively upon the operation of economic reform mechanisms. The long-range program must specify the developmental subbranches of industry that will determine Poland's place on the economic world map.

Next Comrade J. Drezewski discussed the most important power industry issues and noted the recent energy crisis. We remember, he said, the disorganization in industrial production, losses in farming and the sometimes dark houses and streets. For 2 years now, the power industry has met the domestic requirement for electrical power and energy.

If we look at the next few years, however, another energy crisis comes into view that once again can lead to restrictions in energy deliveries that will be destructive for the entire economy. We draw this conclusion from the serious limitations on increases in new capacities put into service. All available methods for rationalizing electrical energy consumption among all consumers should be implemented. This is the order of the moment.

Speech by Boguslaw Kostyniak

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KZ Executive Board, foreman at the KRAJ Agricultural Machinery Factory in Kutno, Plock Voivodship]

[Text] I work in an industry that engages in the production of farm machinery. For 53 years, our plant has served the needs of agriculture and it is now like

an old man whose faculties are declining. This year we were forced to halt production in the plant foundry due to the dangers posed to human life by the condition of buildings.

There are more such buildings. We produce about 20 percent of our products in the open air, including those that have a quality seal. The average wage is 2,000 to 3,000 zlotys below the national average. This puts us in the next-to-last place among large Kutno plants.

Our cadres are constantly leaving. We try all sorts of way to keep people at the plant. We try to obtain some reductions in the Vocational Activization Fund. We likewise are attempting to unblock investments, i.e., the building of a new plant whose construction we are beginning for the fourth time.

This year we wish to achieve a production growth rate of 11.5 percent. Whether we will really do this I do not know, but I do know that we will do everything to make it possible. Even this is little for agriculture. We have found that for maintaining our work rhythm and achieving fair results, we have been punished. Meanwhile, plants with poor results for a certain period have been rewarded, in terms of FAZ [Vocational Activization Fund] reductions.

At the end of the 1970's, our party organization, like many others throughout Poland, experienced a decline in numbers. Later there began a mass exodus from the organization. Sometimes this was painful, for some comrades that left had been with us for 30 years. For the most part, however, those that left were acquisitions from the 1970's; they were people without discrimination and convictions that could not withstand the mental pressures exerted by specific groups. Our organization declined by more than 25 percent. For a long time, it was unable to recoup its losses. Now this period is passing.

Discussions and attendance at meetings have improved considerably. These are the first glimmers of changes occurring in minds. Former party members are once again making known their desire to continue work. There are more and more of such cases. We note an increase in those interested in the plant committee. This is a good sign, especially since many of these are not party members. Now I shall note some of the problems brought up by party members and independents at meetings.

One of the most important of these is the price we are paying for getting out of the crisis--we workers, compared with the price being paid by private enterprise, agents, physicians and other groups of society. We realize that it is impossible to distribute its effect evenly throughout society, but it must be distributed as equally as possible.

There are many instances of assault, of the loitering about of drunkards and of the accosting of women returning from work during the late hours. Various kinds of beggary have been revived. This practically goes unpunished. It results either from the weak operation of internal affairs organs or the small fines imposed on such crimes. Claims are made that our legal system is deficient, for how else can one react to the sentences for the PEWEX robberies, nearly equal to a sentence for murdering a militiaman? Even if they are not legally valid sentences, they are practically a joke.

Statement by Jerzy Jaskiernia

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Candidate member, KC, chairman, ZSMP ZG [Main Board], representative of the Central Commission for Cooperation of Socialist Youth Unions]

[Text] I shall add a basketful of considerations of the ZSMP aktiv to the discussion on the state of implementation of Ninth Congress resolutions. The fundamental question is whether party strategy with regard to the younger generation that was formulated at the Ninth Congress was correct and whether it is being implemented. We are answering this question both in party bodies and youth gatherings; it is being answered by theoreticians and practitioners. The answer is positive not only because, as we wrote in the Ninth Congress resolution, a government program was created for improving the conditions of the professional start of youth and their start in life, not only because the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs that oversees the implementation of this program and its local equivalents have been created. If this is the case, then where does the deficiency lie?

It lies in the fact that part of the party, part of the state apparatus and part of the youth organizations treated this resolution as a one-time thing: send in a report, hold a few meetings, check it off the list and move on to the next plenary meetings. Meanwhile the Ninth Congress and Ninth Plenum strategy is a strategy for the entire 1980's. But it is evident that no resolution may be left unheeded. It is evident that there are gminas and cities, institutions, schools and plants where it has still not reached.

The Politburo passed the decision to direct the Main Local Inspectorate to control this issue. I believe that this is a step in the right direction, although it is not the only step. It would be difficult to expect to use this mechanism to make an accounting of the entire picture of issues that are of interest to the party.

The housing situation is becoming pathetic. The share of the state budget earmarked for housing construction has reached dangerous limits, and the queues in cooperatives are lengthening. Over 1,200 small cooperatives have arisen, but only more than 200 are at work, since there are barriers and complications; young people that do not force their way through, that do not fare as well in applying pressure are not appreciated. The question of the execution of this program will be one of the party's arguments, the standard by which to evaluate how successful we have been in moving the issue forward. Thus it seems to me that we must go farther at present, show the prospects, whether there is any end to this danger.

The ZSMP underwent an extremely difficult test during the past few years. It is a fact that many left the party, but 1983 was a year of growth. Today we must fight for every member, and the dialogue is difficult. Nor is it easy to return to normal upbringing work. It is paradoxical that in the socialist state, we are not in a position to enforce educating the young person politically during the most critical years of age 15-17-18.

I would like to note about our ZSMP members in soldier's uniform that on 13 December they were faced with a historic test. They performed their civic duty, and the many years spent in training the officer's cadre paid off. What is interesting however is that several weeks later we went into our third decade of the circles associated with the 40th anniversary of the People's Polish Army, with patriotic-defense upbringing. There were more than 25,000 meetings with soldiers. Our opponent's strategy to drive a wedge between society and the LWP did not bring results.

I believe the increased cooperation of youth organizations--the ZSMP, the ZMW, the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] and the ZSP [Polish Student Association]-- to be a positive phenomenon. This is evidenced by the creation of the Central Commission for Cooperation of Socialist Youth Unions, by our joint vigil over the Oder at the Chrobry Ramparts, by our attendance along with our elders at the rally of generations in Wroclaw, by the development of the unprecedented exchanges with the GDR and Czechoslovakia and by the approach of the 12th World Festival Moscow '85. Thus, there are positive signs and prospects.

I closed my Ninth Congress address with the words: "We will not go halfway even if the wind whips our faces." I wish to tell my comrades today: "We did not go halfway." I am convinced that in the dialogue of generations, in joint work with the party we will not stand still.

Discussion by Jan Wnuk

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Mar 84 p 4

[Scientific-research worker, director at the Central Research-Development Institute for the Textile Industry in Bielsko-Biala]

[Text] In the assessment of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship delegates, problems of environmental protection are especially important. The intensive economic development of the region has led to considerable destruction of the environment. These problems apply in equal measure to all highly industrialized voivodships.

Our voivodship is known for its high natural values. Miners and metalworkers take their vacations here. That is why it is often called the green lungs of Silesia. The question is--for how long?

Continually growing problems in water supply are a warning symptom that the water shortage may soon become the critical element for the further socioeconomic development of the region. This likewise affects many other regions of the country. The cause of this is insufficient waste purification. Of the approximately 500 cubic meters of wastes produced by the municipal economy and industry per year that should be treated, only 15 percent is treated mechanically and biologically. More than half of Poland's cities have no treatment plants.

A similar situation exists with another basic element of life--air. Air pollution leads to an increase in tuberculosis, anthracosis, bronchitis and other diseases.

The environmental protection law that has been in effect for 3 years is considered to be very good, but to date it has not been supported by a full complement of executory documents and has not had a salutary effect on the state of surrounding nature. The Office of Marine Management and Environmental Protection set up last year will achieve little if society does not support it and if it suffers from the general indifference of society and the under-estimation of nature issues by many institutions, plants and communities.

Voivodship authorities are doing much to guard against growing problems in supplying the southern region of Poland with water. We believe that the only effective way of eliminating water shortages is water retention, particularly of flood waters on the Skawa and the Brennica. It is essential that we enact a decision to include in the central plan and implement as soon as possible the construction of two water reservoirs.

Comparing needs to the country's current potential relegates the building of water projects to the area of the abstract. We must state however, that the many years of cutting costs in environmental protection have mounted up as hundreds of billions of zlotys in indispensable needs.

We can and we ought to find a sufficient number of effective remedies and methods of action to renew nature. Society's input on this question is extremely important. It is often stressed that our opportunity for getting out of the crisis is the setting in motion of the reserves embedded in our economy. They are likewise reserves that can help us improve the natural state.

Statement by Czeslaw Borowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KC, master electrician at the ADAMOW Electrical Power Plant, Konin Voivodship]

[Text] The speaker opened by presenting several problems of the Konin Voivodship with regard to the development of brown coal mining and the power industry, agriculture and the health service. He stated that during the period since the Ninth Congress, many issues have either been resolved or are being resolved. He stressed that brown coal mines essentially have rebuilt their mining potential. This has enabled us to eliminate our coal deliveries for electrical power plants from the outside and to ensure in full that our power needs are met. In accordance with a decision made by the joint PZPR KC and ZSL [United Peasant Party] NK [Supreme Committee] Plenum, nearly 46 percent of total voivodship outlays have been earmarked for the needs of agriculture. A large part of this has been designated to build water supply systems and for reclamation. The full elimination of the effects of flooding has been achieved; many water facilities have been constructed securing the region against a repetition of this disaster.

The implementation of the Ninth Party Congress resolution has led to a program for the development of housing construction from 1983 through 1990. This program envisages the building of about 20,000 dwellings during this period.

It is a minimal program, and while it will not solve the housing problem, it will moderate it. It is envisaged that about 50 percent of the anticipated results will be in the area of single-family construction, mainly in rural areas and small urban centers. During the past 2 years, there has been a significant increase in the production of building materials based on local raw materials in our voivodship. The actions embarked upon in our voivodship are to create conditions for the further increase in housing construction and are to enable the choice of the form of such construction based on the needs and potential of residents. The availability of new lands both in towns and in rural areas, the improvement in procurement and the credit policy in effect have caused a great revitalization in construction over the past year. Society itself has become mobilized. Small housing cooperatives are being created. Associations and building teams for single-family dwellings are being organized. We cannot waste this newly born social activism. We should aim to create a comprehensive system for guaranteeing housing needs, a system that will specify tasks for the central authorities, the local authorities and all participants in the investment process.

The numerous complaints and suggestions received by party echelons, units of the state administration and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth also show the need for radical changes in the housing allotment policy. During the transitional period, criteria should be introduced ensuring housing for those with the most difficult housing and living situations, regardless of the period of time that they have waited for housing. These principles should be binding in the allotment of state, plant and cooperative housing.

Likewise, the updating of laws that stand in the way of the appropriate development of lands for construction and for its implementation ought to be stepped up. Many regulations have been formalized; frequently, this causes society to be disinclined to housing construction in their own areas.

I believe that our actions thus far in the area of housing construction have not been effective; we cannot afford half-baked remedies. We cannot allow the housing construction program to be built upon today's difficult economic situation. We must be farsighted. We must include all sectors of the national economy in resolving the problem. Too much depends upon creating a real long-range plan for meeting housing needs to treat this problem in economic terms alone. We must create an incentive for the younger generation to be active socially in building socialism and in meeting its aspirations.

Alluding to issues of world view, the speaker stated: we cannot allow the church pulpit to be used to sow ferment, to cultivate politics and divide society.

Views of Stanislaw Bednarek

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW Executive Board in Slupsk, OOP [District Party Organization] secretary, foreman at Miastko PGR [State Farm]

[Text] The implementation of the economic reform in socialized farming shows how much remains to be done. This is already the third fiscal year in which the three "S's" are being practiced. Self-financing is implemented without any advance warning and is based essentially upon formerly operative financial regulations. The incentives system changes after the close of each fiscal year. Meanwhile, the right economic decisions may be embarked upon if one knows all of the indispensable information when the plan is constructed.

From the moment that the economic reform was put into effect, many of the indications of problems that occurred reached the proper elements too slowly. Among these issues I include the lack of uniform management conditions among the various regions of the country and the shortage of data on the volumes of the means of production at the time that the plan is set up. The implementation of the economic reform in socialized farming in the Slupsk Voivodship is proceeding very slowly, but cost effectiveness accounting is winning out. Better results have been achieved; meanwhile, many organizational matters have been resolved and a proper production structure has been created. I believe that the uniform treatment of all agriculture ought to be expressed in the proper distribution of the means of production among those producers that guarantee their most effective utilization.

Social conditions for the increase in farm production must be created without disrupting the worker-peasant alliance. The party must aim to eliminate the feeling expressed by farmers that nonfarm sectors are faring well under the reform, often at the expense of farming.

In many cases, the profits plan is exceeded significantly due to contractual prices, at the expense of farm producers. This affects enterprises that perform services for farming, such as farm construction, state machinery centers and the like. Slupsk enterprises that do farm construction paid out 263 million zlotys in profits taxes during the past 2 years--money that should have remained in agriculture in the form of concrete investments.

Decisions guaranteeing the stabilization of regulations controlling current and future work in farming should be accelerated. The involvement of the Federation of Farm Workers' Trade Unions should be directed toward the most rapid introduction possible of new collective work structures.

The situation in the forests of Central Pomerania caused by hail and strong winds is catastrophic. This situation demands that the tremendous efforts of foresters be supported to a greater extent by the help of central and ministerial authorities. The timber industry should be given priority treatment for taking raw materials from our forests and the needs of forestry for vehicles should be met; it should be supplied with cranes for loading and unloading timber and with vehicles to transport worker brigades.

Statement by Alfons Koscinski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[First secretary, PZPR KZ at the Grudziadz STOMIL Rubber Industry Plant, Torun Voivodship]

[Text] The most controversial assessments were made in the party elements of our voivodship during the time of the creation and development of so-called "horizontal structures." Today this stormy period is behind us. Nonetheless, it has left a strong mark on the party organizations in our voivodship.

Many party elements, despite their having become seasoned in the hard struggle, are still in a weakened state. The period of the past few months showed that the process of consolidating party ranks continues. Despite the fact that many party organizations have fewer members, they are slowly gaining strength and are regaining their impact on socioeconomic life. However, we must continue to battle passivity and lack of confidence in the effectiveness of our work.

In my own STOMIL Plant, the party's authority is based on the strength of party groups and district organizations. Here the most frequent subject of discussion is the problems that have plagued the plant for years, and hence the need to modernize and replace machinery, wages and very difficult working conditions. Here such initiatives are also arising as work on work-free Saturdays. The battle over renewal is being waged at work stations, where all assumptions, programs and decisions are verified.

I do not hide the fact that these are severe tests and our enterprise still does not receive positive marks often enough. Workers expect to be talked to in concrete language, according to their notions of social justice. This is not always easy. Their stimulated appetites and aspirations run up against hard realities--the limitations dictated by life.

Our voivodship is in the 4th place nationwide in terms of production growth rate, but we are in 44th place in terms of the health services base. We are in third place in farm production, but for years we have been waiting to see something done to expand the processing industry, mainly milk and grain processing. We propose that in the distribution of the modest amount of funds available, the economic results of voivodships and their input into the nation's economy should be taken into consideration.

Workers' opinions are the basis of our programs and activities in plants. We listen attentively to the opinions of all, not only to party members. Today people work calmly, the emotionalism has subsided and the various kinds of prejudices are being dispelled. Nonetheless, there is still a great lack of confidence in the actions of the authorities. According to workers, there are still too many cases of social injustice. Most workers understand the need to vary earnings according to work input. However, they do not approve of variations that are socially unwarranted.

The future of the economic reform, whose results are still not apparent to society despite continual modifications, is more and more disturbing. The worker most often feels the effect of the reform through price increases. The price policy, which is seen as discretionary and devoid of state control, continues to arouse dissatisfaction.

The industrial working class understands and favors the indissolubility of the worker-peasant alliance; however, the recurring statements made in rural communities about the unprofitability of farming or cattle-raising and the need to raise producer prices are found more and more shocking. The declining number of society members that work and generate the national income is disturbing and engenders more and more reflections.

The reform of our economy and social structures must be accompanied by a reform of the consciousness and the science of re-thinking things. The 13th KC Plenum outlined the tasks in this field.

Comments of Bernard Androwiak

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW Executive Board in Leszno, secretary, PZPR KMG [City-Gmina Committee], farmer from the gmina of Pogorzele]

[Text] The water shortage in the Leszno Voivodship is becoming a barrier to the further development of food production. A basic problem is the regulation of water ratios in the Oder and Barycza river valleys and the Oder canals. We are persistently attacking this problem. The considerable silting up of the Oder riverbed and the Barycza linked to it, as well as the Oder canals often causes flooding in the spring and summer inundating 25,000 hectares of farmland.

The actions that we are ambitiously undertaking within the voivodship are not even stopgap measures, but are rather a waste of effort and funds, in spite of the best desires and intentions. In this way, we are battling effects and not causes. As a result of these activities, for example, we have embarked upon the construction of a polder that has cost a great deal in funds and materials. The only problem is that it protects an area of less than 700 hectares only partly from flooding. We are conducting systematic maintenance on embankments that are still subject to devastation as a result of the onset of springtime flooding. The rebuilding of embankments from the ground up is necessary. A central decision on the comprehensive control of the Oder riverbed is indispensable if the situation is to improve markedly.

We believe the improvement of the degree of grain cultivation and the improvement of fodder management to be necessary and urgent. If we transfer the right to trade grain to such units as gmina cooperatives and the Seeds Center, i.e., to those units that conduct contracting directly, this would allow us to retain 55 percent of grain purchases for processing in local fodder mixtures and, having been supplied with 70,000 tons of high-protein components, to produce about 370,000 tons of concentrated feed mixtures.

Under our conditions, this means the production and procurement of 85,000 tons of slaughter livestock and 200 million liters of milk as well as the designation of 45 percent of grain purchases suitable for processing to the milling industry.

We would also like to change the principles of the management of the slaughter livestock produced in our voivodship. We sell 80,000 tons of slaughter livestock, of which 42,000 tons are transported by truck to Wroclaw, Walbrzych, Legnica and Katowice. The average distance of one-way transit is nearly 175 km. The losses from this amount to 2,500 tons of slaughter livestock. Moreover, the trip consumes more than 420 tons of fuel and involves 8,500 vehicles per year.

A centrally made decision enabling the elimination of the monopolistic role of meat plants in livestock management would allow us to cut out these losses and to utilize the processing potential of slaughter houses, the SCH [Peasant Mutual Aid] gmina cooperative and other socialized units.

Statement by Jerzy Janisiewicz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[First secretary, POP, driver for the Lochocin POM [State Machine Stations], Wloclawek Voivodship]

[Text] We are farming under inferior weather-soil conditions for the voivodship is not only the well-known Kujawy black earth, but our results show that under a difficult situation, our farmers are skillfully utilizing the conditions created by the Ninth Congress resolution for farm production.

Our institutions and POP's have done much to improve economical management, services to the rural residents and recognition to people for good work. We are aware, however, that the soil is still not being utilized very intensively. Reserves lie above all in grain and cover crop yields.

There are also large reserves in the development of livestock production. There are two fundamental circumstances that restrict the development of livestock production. The first is the fodder shortage and the second is the declining profitability of farm production, especially hog production. Farmers often bring this up at meetings and gatherings. Rural areas are awaiting the pertinent decisions on this issue and the establishment of the proper ratios between the prices of the means of farm production and the prices of farm products, as well as the mutual ratios between them.

I believe that vital reserves are also embedded in the uneconomical management of farms, primarily in cooperative farm circles.

The number one problem in the voivodship and throughout the country is reclamation and supplying rural areas with water. The successful resolution of these matters is the most rapid and cheapest way of achieving an increase in crop production. Farmers are pleased that government orders have been

handed down regarding reclamation. Thus far, however, the effects of this decision have not been significant. Today farmers still transport water for their cattle sometimes over a dozen kilometers. In such a situation, we can only dream of the filling of all openings and the increase in meat production.

Speech by Marian Kuszewski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW Executive Board, first deputy editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU]

[Text] The time of the severe struggle over the mass media is still fresh in our memories. The goal of the massive attack against the media was clear: its purpose was to wrest out of the party's hands an instrument of extremely great importance to it, one that is necessary to maintain its ties with the masses.

Slogans were bandied referring to the so-called independence of the press and objectivism. These were false. Throughout the entire world, the press serves specific ideas. The socialist press and the party mass media have the duty of serving the party's program. Moreover, some of the most verbal apostles of the "independent" press unscrupulously serve Western centers that are inimical to Poland. This is the measure of their credibility.

It would be an unpardonable indiscretion to grant that they have left no traces. Nonetheless, we can say that in general, the leadership role of the party in the mass media has been restored, particularly in its major elements. The party press has preserved its basic readership base and is struggling to expand it. This is also a struggle against the political and ideological opposition. That is why an increase in the circulation of the party press ought to become an important issue for the entire party, for all its echelons and organizations.

The creation of a new professional journalists' organization--the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic is very important for the consolidation of the journalistic community around the party's program.

The social and political situation of the country continually places new demands on the party mass media. We feel the pressure of bourgeois ideologies, fideistic philosophies and the petty bourgeois world view. This is accompanied by the ever-present anti-soviet propaganda. In this situation, the call for univocality in the party press is understandable. What does it mean?

Univocality is faithfulness to the party, class systems of values that is evident throughout the newspaper, the journal, the television program or the radio program. We must demand from ourselves such wise univocality, in which there must also be a place for the creative confrontation of views, remembering that momentary departures from principles yield results that are the opposite of anticipated results.

This is related to a proper understanding of the dialectical essence of the formula for struggle and understanding defined by the Ninth PZPR Party Congress. Sometimes one notes tendencies to separate these two elements along with their own division of roles. Some are apparently against struggle while others are against understanding. One cannot agree with such an interpretation. Obviously, it is the party's duty to clear the way for national understanding on the issues of greatest importance to the country, but this also means the struggle over the victory of socialist ideals, over the socialist way of life, over the scientific world view and over the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

We can certainly add to the balance sheet of the achievements of the press implementing the party's program under the "has" column such items as the increase in the amount of diversity and information and the speedier reaction to events than in the past, as well as greater precision in recording and commenting upon facts. At the same time, however, certain dangers come to light. The desirable and socially necessary aim to publicly demonstrate examples of good work and the positive results of collective work are sometimes set up in a superficial, one-sided, rosy-colored picture. When it comes into contact with life, an understandable conflict is created and lack of confidence is born not only with regard to the mass media, but in the party itself.

The valid principle of the openness of our political and social life, if applied too formally (and this unfortunately happens), is its own demise. In extreme cases this means that for public display, the deliberations, meetings and symposiums themselves of the various social or institutional bodies become more important than the practical effects of such deliberations. We must know how to counter such dangers, in the press and otherwise.

The struggle over the hearts and minds of our people is a great task for the entire party press. There is no easy, universal recipe for its execution. But we know today better than ever before that the fundamental road to this goal is the everyday close contact with the working class. Its problems and concerns, its aspirations and way of viewing reality must be for us a compass directing our activities, a primary source of inspiration.

Statement by Jozef Kietlinski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW in Skierniewice, first secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Sochaczew]

[Text] Positive changes have been effected in the party. It is more cohesive, it is becoming consolidated ideologically, it is passing from activities conducted in small groups of the aktiv to activities of entire POP's. Our weak impact on the broad circles of society emanates in part from the irregular distribution of party forces in the particular communities, and even in large plants.

We are consistently implementing the principle that the party operates openly and verifies its actions through confrontation with the feelings of the public. The most difficult thing in daily work is to convince people of what is realistic and possible to achieve. The pressures to improve living conditions are tremendous. I do not know how we will succeed in withstanding the pressure in wage or housing issues. People expect concrete things from the party and the consistent implementation of decisions that have been passed.

The constitution and the statute guarantee the party's leadership and leading role. But life is more complex than written regulations. This is especially so, since there is no lack of tendencies aimed at limiting the party's role to its ideological-moral functions.

Unfortunately, we must admit that such attitudes are found among party members that perform various leadership roles. One gets the impression that a part of the cadre longs for the old forms of management and gladly would lay the reform to rest. It seems that the party has not moved to the front line everywhere.

At the plenary meetings that followed the Ninth Congress, a great deal was said about the need for an ideological offensive. This was considered to be a good prognosis in the field. Personally, I am of the opinion that we are doing too little in the party to implement the 13th KC Plenum resolutions. It will be difficult to achieve progress in consolidating the party and in strengthening its impact on society unless ideological order is effected on elementary questions that emanate from the principles of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist system. Discussion and diversity of views are needed. Polemics are also necessary. But from whom is the rank-and-file party member to take his instructions if the foremost representatives of the ideological front quarrel publicly in the press over whether we are really building socialism in Poland? In our area, we are doing much to disseminate the proper forms and methods for increasing the effectiveness of ideological-upbringing activity. We often stress that strengthening the worker's element of the party and gaining new groups of the worker aktiv are a key ideological task.

We cannot accept the view that I call the intelligentsia complex, that workers do not wish to discuss and believe that their interests will be better represented by white-collar representatives of the working class. In the coming elections to people's councils, we shall recommend as candidates many representatives of distinction from these communities. I believe that this is an important party task, but it is also an important task for our allied parties. The elections to people's councils are not only a big campaign, but also a severe political struggle for which the party, especially within its lowest elements, must be well prepared.

In recent years, we did not make use of the general requirement of party discipline. I believe that our party is now strong enough to enforce this discipline with firmness in the course of the elections campaign. It would be a definite test for us.

Comments From Marian Baranowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] Executive Board, farmer from the village of Urszulin, Chelm Voivodship]

[Text] After the Ninth Congress, my comrades and I did not forget about our duties as delegates. This was enjoined by the congress line, and it is the reason that we were close to the people. The road of resolutions from Warsaw to the village is extremely long. It called forth our energies as Ninth Congress delegates. We addressed 70 suggestions to the central authorities. We are pleased by the collective answer of the KC to these suggestions.

While trust in the party is becoming more and more widespread, this does not mean that we have everyone on our side. People say that our party is different now. It works differently. It is open to the problems of working people. Today the doors of the party authorities and secretaries are open wider to the peasant and the worker. Human issues are treated with concern and responsibility at all levels. But there is still much bitterness, fear and dissatisfaction among people. And although what has been done since the Ninth Congress is evident, all weaknesses, delays and failures on our part are discerned and brought up.

This is done among us at the bottom without the weighing of words and without specifics. It is not assurances and programs that are expected from us, but palpable proofs.

Carefully and scrupulously we examined the documents distributed for deliberation at today's conference. They meet our expectations. The party leadership has not forgotten about recommendations drawn from the crisis. But does everyone that works within the party and speaks out on its behalf remember them?

Sometimes we lag behind in implementing KC resolutions. Besides confirming the principles of our statute, the PZPR Ideological-Program Declaration and the PZPR program, as well as the draft electoral regulations infuse new, very needed elements into intraparty life. These should lead to the strengthening of the party's upbringing work. We have the impression that achievements in the economy are greater than achievements in ideological-upbringing work.

I work in the rural community. The question of full land development is attaining the status of a problem among us in the voivodship. There are 26,000 hectares of PFZ [State Land Fund] lands. Where the soil is weak, secondary fallow land can emerge and farmers are not interested in this. There are also 30,000 hectares owned by farmers who are without successors. A properly supported socialized sector must bring this land into cultivation.

In the Chelm Voivodship, we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of our homeland by intensive work. We wish to confirm the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] declaration regarding the creation of a strong, independent, sovereign and democratic Poland. We are honestly assessing the

40-year path that we have traveled. We do this without fanfare, but also without breastbeating. The activism of our private citizens is on the rise. We thank Warsaw for its contribution to our voivodship 40th Anniversary Activities Fund. Other voivodship and plants have also joined with the July Manifesto region. We are moved by these proofs of remembrance.

Statement by Franciszek Rusnarczyk

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KW in Nowy Sacz, teacher at Elementary School No 2 in Mszana Dolna]

[Text] Today our desires and aspirations do not always find society agreeing with and supporting them. We must add to the question of where we are aiming an answer to the question--with whom? We are not out for ourselves. True, time has confirmed the line of the Ninth Congress, but we cannot stamp this fact with the seal of our successes and put it into the archives. This must be the line of life. It is not enough to build it once; it must be done every day.

Certainly, this is more difficult than building the program. In the gmina it is a hundred times more difficult, for there no one wants to set up programs or resolutions or hear of them. They wish to know when there will be a bridge across the river, or a school, a water supply system or a road through the village.

The Sejm's formidable efforts to enact legislation have been noted. We have an entire sea of resolutions and programs that frequently are very wise, but are also very broad, talked to death and unclear. Small wonder, then, that in the consciousness of the aktiv, regardless of whether it is the city or the rural aktiv, fears are being born about legislative inflation.

I also believe, comrades, that shortcoming in the work methods of party organizations, POP's and echelons also create an obstacle for us. Meetings, executive boards, plenums and deliberations of the head aktiv are frequently all we use. Too rarely do leaders and secretaries visit schools to attend civic upbringing classes in the seventh or eighth grades or to meet with teachers. If we do not rethink and change our methods, we will not go beyond the meeting hall and we will not break down the stagnation of many communities. Second, we are not in control of the bureaucracy. It saps too much of the party's strength; too much effort is focused on the so-called documenting of ongoing activity; too often the work of party echelons is assessed through the prism of heaped up plans, operating schedules, reports, briefs, analyses and minutes of deliberations and meetings that have been held.

A special area in which our party efforts and government activities still have not yielded the expected results is the extensive series of problems of the younger generation. One must not reprimand young people, for this neither affects them nor do they experience the lesson they are being taught. On the other hand, we must be quick to meet their real, unsatisfied need to talk--without prejudice, falsehoods, forbidden subjects and forbidden questions.

These are our children. Whether we like it or not, we will not exchange them for another, better, more mature generation. We are responsible for their upbringing.

Among party members there arises the question: what damage is done to the ideas of understanding and dialogue by the utilization of places of religious cult to inculcate mistrust in the young toward the people's authority and the party and intolerance to the views of others? All these activities can engender local conflicts and conflicts across broader areas, and as Comrade Jaruzelski said: "conflict is not needed either by the state or the Church; it suits only our enemies."

It so happens that rarely does anyone take up the gmina, party reality and its specific nature with real understanding. Its specific nature does not only mean that one uses a certain road to go to the office, or to school, to the committee or to church. It means that here occur the sharpest clashes of civilization and customs. Here there is a different collective mentality, stronger pressure and the opinion-generating force of the community. The small-scale is always more difficult. They must be helped, for the gmina structure of Poland, the gmina structure of the party are the same Poland and the same party, but somewhat distant from Warsaw.

Speech by Tadeusz Pisarski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[Member, PZPR KC, professor, director of the AM [Medical Academy] Institute of Gynecology and Obstetrics in Poznan]

[Text] During the recent period that followed the congress, much has been done in the area of health care, considerably more than during similar periods in the past. This is a bold notion that I shall attempt to justify.

Many issues have been resolved both from the viewpoint of organization and substance. The health ministry, instructed by the Government Presidium, has prepared many documents streamlining the rendering of services in the area of health care. These include the report on the health state of society.

Solid, realistic programs have been prepared that are vital to continued progress. They do not contain pompous declarations and unnecessary emotion. They analyze both needs and the possibilities for implementing these needs.

During a very difficult period of shortages and growing chaos, the health service functioned in an organized manner and secured the essential needs of citizens.

During group deliberations, we learned that no critical investment in the health service area was curtailed. We are pleased to note that we have well trained doctors, midwives and nurses, pharmacists and lab technicians that are able to cope with difficult conditions.

The shortcomings in the health service emanate above all from the shortage in the number of hospital beds and equipment. They also emanate from the fact that even the potential that we possess is not utilized effectively.

The vast majority of those employed in the health service work with a sense of sacrifice and with great dedication. They are committed to public service. There prevails in our community the conviction that people that undermine our good opinion should be eliminated and those that commit crimes should be punished severely. Unfortunately, reduced ethical standards are evident among health service employees, just as they are evident throughout society.

Health care teams in small communities have passed the test. However, it is essential that we establish the need to maintain specialized health teams, for these teams, instead of integrating efforts towards those that need medical assistance, are worsening the situation, causing a greater gulf between doctor and patient.

Activating the pharmaceuticals industry to produce medicines according to the most modern achievements of science and practice and motivating other industrial subsectors to produce modern medical equipment is a most urgent task--a necessity.

Statement by Janina Dzielak-Grzeskowiak

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 4

[First secretary of the PZPR KMG [City-Gmina Committee] in Choszczno, Gorzow Voivodship]

[Text] At the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, one of our comrades spoke words full of bitterness: "in the situation in which our country and the party finds itself, we must draw the immediate practical conclusions to prevent our homeland from becoming a house for sale." How different the subjects and even the atmosphere that prevails at this conference! The right conclusions were drawn on time.

In order to be able to defend some sort of idea properly, we first must know it well. Without a familiarity with the foundations of the system, or knowledge of its rules, society will accept only its good sides.

The list of duties of the authorities to the nation is formulated on the basis of this choice. At the same time, the existing link between rights and duties, between the distribution of goods and the prior need to work for them is glossed over. Unfortunately, we have many citizens that believe that they have a right to everything merely because Poland has a socialist system. Sometimes we hear claims that we all have the same stomachs and needs. But we all do not have the same heads for thinking or the same hands and desire to work. I believe that our upbringing system, the system of political education does not serve effectively the formation of views enabling us to appreciate the values of socialism.

This leads to the conclusion that we must work out a system of political education not only for party members, but for the entire society in general, educating people beginning from childhood.

Referring to the principle of the so-called rotation of secretaries, the speaker stated that a certain percentage of secretaries that will have to step down in 2 years will work half-shifts to enable them to look for other positions after their term is over.

I do not favor our retaining the party apparatus under all circumstances, the speaker said. On the contrary, those that cannot meet all the demands should leave, even if it is mid-term. But those that hold authority and enjoy recognition and that perform their political organizing duties well should not leave out of principle alone. Thus, a code of electoral regulations must be prepared that, on the one hand, will guarantee the implementation of the principle of democracy in intraparty life and, on the other, will not eliminate suitable, capable people.

In my opinion, bureaucratization can be a great danger in party work. I am referring to the proliferation of plans, operating schedules and various types of documents that are multiplying in every echelon and party organization. There is less and less time for work with people, for individual contacts and for visiting plants. I hold that party committees, possessing a very small cadre, particularly at the gmina and city-gmina levels, ought to be primarily organizers of political work with people, and not with institutions.

Views of Roman Golebiewski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Member, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission], veterinarian at the State Animal Hospital in Lipowiec, Ciechanow Voivodship]

[Text] A cursory analysis of the activism of the rural society gives little reason for optimism, especially since rural party organizations lie within the scope of these negative trends. A tremendous amount of party work is needed, often exceeding the potential of POP's, to put into practice the resolutions of the congress, plenums, presidiums and commissions, so that party members and the rural society become aware of them.

In my opinion, excessive optimism and self-satisfaction with the achievements contained in reports on the implementation of Ninth Congress resolutions are a threat to the achievement of our goals. So as not to fall into utter pessimism, however, I hasten to add that in everyday contact with farmers I have noted that, notwithstanding the distance with which they treat all declarations on farming, they are often tired.

I also see the need for the Tenth Congress to address the issue of standardizing terms throughout the party.

The current period, preceding elections to people's councils and following the reports-elections campaign in the party, allows us to assess realistically our rural socioeconomic situation and the recommendations resulting therefrom for the future. Despite appearances, this situation is favorable, since we have gained both experience and an awareness of needs. We cannot waste this opportunity, but must use it consciously and consistently in the coming elections to people's councils, in conjunction with our allies.

Jozef Bejm's Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[MO [Citizen's Militia] commander-in-chief, major general]

[Text] He stressed that the road that the party and the entire country have traveled demonstrates that the line of struggle and understanding formulated at the Ninth PZPR Congress was and is the only right political concept under present conditions. Although for a long time following the congress there still were attempts to stir up unrest and confusion in Poland and to create a reversal of the political scene--all of which were aimed at confronting anti-socialist and antinational forces, the decisive, tenacious efforts of the party are bringing about gradual stabilization. An important task of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to protect the national economy and to ensure public order. Frequently, the implementation of this task uncovers glaring waste, uneconomical management, dishonesty and examples of poor work by the plant administration whose primary duty is to care for public property, the plant and the workforce. Trade unions and the self-governments treat the protection of property and order as marginal issues thus far. Many evils take place before people's eyes to which the internal control system does not react properly.

Characterizing the threat of economic crime, General Bejm stated that last year over 90,000 such crimes were recorded. Property was recovered valued at over 2.5 billion zlotys. Speculation, which has increased of late, especially plagues society. This is particularly so of organized speculation, the fight against which lies at the center of the attention of prosecuting organs.

Feeding off the crisis and the amassing of fortunes by rascals, frauds and pseudo-craftsmen are a source of disgust for people. The MO is focusing on this problem.

Last year, the property fines and tax claims account secured from persons that had accumulated wealth illegally property valued at 700 million zlotys.

The MO commander-in-chief continued that crime continues at a high level. The MO was not pleased by the fact that it is markedly lower than in many Western countries, nor by the fact that during the past 40-year period, there were years in which criminality was at a significantly higher level. Despite increased efforts, the great threat to order on the railways continues. Since December 1983, more than 190,000 crimes, misdemeanors and irregularities have been uncovered.

If the situation is to improve, not only must we increase the effectiveness of the ministry's operation, but we must also raise the state of legal awareness of citizens and the level of the active support of MO efforts by the entire society. The battle against crime is a political problem and a test of the reliability of operation of official organs. That is why, J. Bejm assured, it will be conducted in a still more decisive manner.

Statement by Mieczyslaw Czerniawski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[PZPR KW secretary in Lomza]

[Text] The period of struggle taught us to verify our weaknesses carefully and enabled us to assess our strengths and possibilities. What separates us from working people is schematicism, long-windedness, sham, habit and inertia. Meanwhile, the essence of the party's operation is to be among working people, to share with them cares and joys, to suggest solutions and to offer assistance.

We have an educated, diligent, young working class concentrated in modern plants. Nonetheless, directors are the lowest level leaders in the main. It is not true that there were no capable leaders among the working class. The cause of the phenomenon is complex. I believe that it lies in the lack of faith in the party's potential, in the still partial belief that the party is struggling over the interests and worthiness of the working class. By strengthening trade unions and youth and social organizations, we are strengthening the party. This is one of the tasks that the Lomza party organization has set for itself.

It is essential today that the party battle powerlessness. Within the entire party we must consistently embark upon the tasks and goals specified at the present conference.

In the plenary discussion and in the first group discussion as well, we heard many critical remarks addressed toward the party address accusing it of arrogance, lack of trust and haughtiness. As an employee of this apparatus performing a statutory, service duty to the party and the elective authorities, I listened to this anxiously and with a note of bitterness. While I do not wish to quarrel with these statements, the party executory apparatus includes many people that are committed ideologically and work sacrificially.

To be sure, there is still a group of comrades (and not only in the apparatus) that feels secure and has begun to work again in the old style. It is not from the party apparatus alone that we must rid ourselves of routinists, but of temporary solutions as well.

The party cannot fill its apparatus in a casual manner. It must have a system of internal cadre policy and return to delegating the best to the most responsible positions.

This year, as we celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, the party has cause to speak with all its power of the achievements of our system. People need optimism that emanates from the facts that speak the most forcefully to their imaginations and are unshakable even before our foes. This is the next goal that we in the party should number among the most important.

Comments of Kazimierz Kowal

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Secretary, PZPR KMG, electrical engineer, stationmaster of the electric traction section in Radymno, Przemysl Voivodship]

[Text] Now, at this distance from the Ninth Congress, we can see with greater accuracy that it really was an extraordinary congress. It was called under an extraordinary, unusual situation and examined extraordinarily important issues.

Today one hears that the work atmosphere is not conducive, that optimism is lacking. And regarding the celebration of the 40th anniversary it is stressed that the enthusiasm that existed directly following the war is lacking in our emergence from the crisis. The most important thing is that the enthusiasm that underlay the strikes, the unjust charges made against people and the adoption of even the most Utopian theories no longer exists. This is a great lesson for us all.

I agree that the most sought-after commodity today is realism, pragmatism and consistency. It is not easy for us in the Przemysl Voivodship in many fields of life in work and struggle. I must also express some of the fears of the comrades that elected me as delegate that wonder whether what emerges from this fog are not illusions. Do these notions that are so frequently encountered on paper regarding ensuring social justice, worker inspections, the struggle against speculation and the battles against alcoholism, parasitism and arrogance have an real form or will they have it? Are we not promising ourselves too much?

I have worked with the railways for more than 20 years. People complain about train schedules and travel services, but this is not the fault of the railways and railway workers alone. There is a shortage of basic equipment and facilities and we lack the personnel to set up an optimum system. The mechanical passing used long ago throughout the world is something unknown to us.

The Przemysl region is not only the issue of personal travel. It is a major border reloading port from the USSR. I wish to inform my male and female comrades that from 1947 to the end of February of this year, we have reloaded more than 330 million tons of freight. This includes 250 million tons of ore alone. The bulk of this freight was transferred by workers using only shovels, in the sweltering heat, in the rain and in the freezing cold and snow--under the open sky.

I must also repeat from today's platform what has been said in Przemysl for 40 years. We are slowly rebuilding the old, beautiful, historic railway

station by our own efforts. But even after its renovation, it will not be used as an international station. It is simply unsuited to this. Currently we are completing the construction of a modern border station for automobile traffic, but thousands of people also travel by train. We are not able to build an international railway station on our own.

Statement by Krzysztof Dorosz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Member, PZPR KC, farmer from the village of Mokre, Biala Podlaska Voivodship]

[Text] Over the course of less than 3 years, noticeable improvement has occurred in many matters related to farm procurement of the means of production. I shall not detail these improvements. I note among the most urgent issues in our voivodship the cultivation, production and management of potatoes that occupy 25 percent of our arable surface area.

In many gminas, farmers have specialized quite extensively in production and obtain over 300 quintals per hectare. Last year, two of our Biala Podlaska GS's [Gmina Cooperatives] took first and second place in eating potato procurement nationwide. We send our surplus outside the voivodship area for a distance of several hundred kilometers to such voivodships as Szczecin, for example. Each year, despite current fuel problems, more than 100,000 tons of potatoes are transported practically from Brest to Szczecin. For several years now we have tried to localize a potato processing plant without success.

Water ratios are the next issue. More than 20 years ago, one of the largest reclamation investments in the country, the Wieprz-Krzna Canal, was built at a cost of about 6 billion zlotys. By now the facility has suffered considerable damage and is in urgent need of modernization. At current prices, the cost would be about 3 billion zlotys. The problem cannot be resolved by drawing on the budgets of the three voivodships concerned: Chelm, Lublin and Biala Podlaska. It must be put into the Central Plan.

For many years farmers have been mobilized to increase milk production. True, we have broken no records in this area, but perhaps this is fortunate, since current procurement, peaking at more than a half million liters per day, jams up processing. Of necessity, casein is produced from the surplus. Here, as throughout the country, there are very large casein reserves. In 1980, the central authorities passed a decision that included the expansion of the milk plant in Biala Podlaska in the central plan. Unfortunately, there is a shortage of contractors and, recently, of funding. For this reason, the investment has no real chance to be implemented.

The final issue that I would like to present is that of rural construction. Rural Podlaska was nearly totally destroyed during the occupation. Neglected due to historical occurrences, it is trying to raise the social level and economic conditions by the building of new housing and livestock buildings. The requirement for building materials is so great that this is creating touchy social, economic and political problems. This subject is discussed

at every one of our conferences, deliberations and meetings. Every second petitioner that approaches the party or an office comes about the building materials issue.

Discussion of Aleksander Bartnicki

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[First secretary, PZPR KMG in Biecz, Krosno Voivodship]

[Text] In implementing the Ninth Congress resolutions, we in the Krosno Voivodship have embarked upon a broad scope of party and administrative activities. Already in the first half of 1982, these actions halted the decline in the economy. The implementation of tasks in 1983 in industrial production and building-installation production was higher than planned. On the other hand, delays are occurring in land development for multi-family housing construction. The shortage of city and gmina water supplies is becoming more severe. These are problems that must find their proper place in the plan for 1986-1990.

Demands made at the congress led to a Government Presidium decision outlining the directions of development of oil mining. There are still many problems hampering its development. There is a shortage of drill pipes; the regulations hinder and delay severely the development of newly discovered deposits. The possibilities for modernizing drilling and mining equipment and the like are still negligible.

Voivodship authorities proposed a program for activating the Bieszczady to be examined by you. As I present this issue in this lofty forum, I request that you adopt a position that would hasten the economic activation of the Bieszczady and improve the living and working conditions of the people that live there. It is essential that farming opportunities be increased in mountain lands, where production costs are 30 percent higher than the average. The voivodship party organization and farmers in general negatively assess the rate of the efforts of the interministerial team appointed in September of last year for the purpose of examining this question. Further delays on this decision will cause losses that may be impossible to make up.

Statement by Jerzy Markiewicz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Lawyer from the Lawyer's Group in Bilgoraj, Zamosc Voivodship]

[Text] After presenting the rich and varied contribution of the Zamosc Voivodship to Polish culture, to the struggle for freedom and the new shape of the system, the speaker stated that throughout the history of our nation, Zamosc society has always valued most highly the interests of the Republic and the welfare of the Polish people. Concepts emanating from our political thought, our cultural heritage and our radical-revolutionary traditions are part of the social consciousness.

It is within this historic context that one should assess the work of our voivodship party organization in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and in forming the socialist consciousness of the society of the Zamosc region, in close conjunction with the entire nation.

We value the importance of intergenerational ties and we make use of them in our work. We help young citizens to find personal models to understand contemporary patriotism. We tell them to think of work as their civic duty and say that their attitude to work is a measure of their patriotism. We repeatedly demonstrate to society the nobility of workers and peasants and their civic and sociopolitical advancement expressed through their assumption of responsibility for the future of the nation and the state. We call to mind the terrible price and tragedy of the Polish nation as it lost its freedom on two occasions; we call to mind that a strong state, national unity and friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union are the guarantees of our freedom.

Schooling and youth organizations perform basic tasks. We offer inspiration for study programs and demand that they take into consideration the most important events from the history of the Zamosc area. We suggest that the leaders of youth organizations make use of patriotic personal models of the people of our region in our upbringing work in order to link contemporary life with the history of the Zamosc area.

Regional associations that cultivate the progressive traditions of the region play an important role. Museums merit special attention here. School-age youth care for cemeteries of deceased participants in uprisings, soldiers and partisans and national monuments. We point out to society, especially the young generation, the achievements of the Zamosc Voivodship, the results of 40 years of work, the effort of nearly two generations of Poles, the systems-type and economic changes and the path from burned out lands to modern villages and cities.

The implementation of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress resolutions is taking place in a severe political struggle in which the opposition is attacking patriots, party members, and the moral values we express and is attempting to divert us from historic traditions. Nonetheless, the major signpost for our activities is contained in the name: Polish United Workers Party. Polish--that is, of the great nation with its magnificent traditions of 1000 years of statehood, United--that is, internally strong, Workers--that is, the heroic, 100-year class struggle for socialism and Party--the guiding force of the nation.

Statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Member, PZPR KC, deputy premier]

[Text] When we speak of our faithfulness to the Ninth Congress line, involuntarily we associate it with a new style of party and state work, with

a new view of many issues and problems and a new attitude to the people with whom we stand day in and day out. We must continue to struggle anew, every day, for support for our ideas, our policy. We all must learn new, more effective work methods continually. The fact of the matter is that the most interesting and most intelligent method used in political-upbringing work rapidly can become obsolete and lose its appeal. There is no doubt, continued the deputy minister, that during the past 3 years, considerable politicalization has occurred in the work of the government and the entire administration. Obviously, this does not mean that every one of us thinks politically in every instance, that we do not make mistakes. Nonetheless, it is one of the signs of the socialist renewal that administrative tasks unite more and more effectively with political work. The approximately 1,000 meetings of government members and workforces per year are a measure of this style of operation. There is no issue discussed at the Government Presidium or in the Council of Ministers that does not lead to the question: what will be the reaction of society, the working class and trade unions to this decision?

Speaking of the work of the Committee for Trade Union Affairs, M. Rakowski stated: although trade unionists always bear some grudge against us, there is nothing bad in this. Jointly, without mutual offense, let us create a permanent partnership, in the Leninist manner, to build the foundations of relations between the state and economic administration and trade unions-- now the broadest representation of the working world in Poland.

Once and for all, we must bury our doubts in our strengths and potential, continued the speaker. Much has been said in this auditorium about the fact that we already have enough of the constant references to the crisis, that render us powerless and sap our courage. Frequently the word crisis is used as a mantle over speculation, indolence and the creation of confusion. The crisis philosophy is not a philosophy of struggle. It is a philosophy of resignation.

Stressing the need to aim continually to expand the social base of support for the party's policy and the people's authority, the deputy premier said that our achievements in this field are unshakable. We are also aware, however, that there are considerable factions in society that occupy an indifferent, neutral position on many issues of vital importance to Poland. They are, as we have come to call them, the "silent majority." This term is in error. These citizens are in no way silent in the queues or in their immediate surroundings. On the other hand, silence is their response to our assurances that we are making our way consistently along the road of indispensable reform. Silence is their response to our appeals that they actively make their presence known in socioeconomic life. We are trying to win over these people to the great socialist and national cause.

Not only do we seek their minds and impulses, but our opponent in Poland and abroad does this as well. During the entire period following December 1981, the primary goal of our political opponents, of all antisocialist forces, was to maintain control over the minds and actions of millions of our fellow Poles. Every day was a challenge; every date was a pretext. We should remember these moves. Comrades, remember the slogan "the winter is yours, the spring is ours"?

In the end, no season of the year was theirs. Then they tried street demonstrations. "Come with us" they called. We all know who went with them. It was not the working class, or the young people they so counted on. The nation did not follow them. A total of some 100,000 people of 36 million citizens went, 12 million of whom are employed in the national economy and 5 million of whom are factory workers! Then the new unions were branded "crows" in the hope that they would flop. They did not. Now no one speaks of the "crow" unions any longer. Another term arose: progovernment unions. When it became clear that this would not catch on, more and more often one heard in the camp of the opposition a new, quite interesting turn of phrase: the unions are called "antigovernment." About whom had they forgotten? They had forgotten about the farmers, that they were supposed to lower production, as was argued by a certain chairman, that could have been the chairman of the SMP, the Association of Polish Mythomaniacs. They expected a decline in labor productivity, they expected the economic reform to fail and they even expected that our nation would not be able to behave with dignity and responsibly during the pope's visit.

All of the enemy slogans, appeals and calculations were aimed at strengthening the convictions of the wavering and the doubtful that it was worthwhile to continue giving support, since one day the "reds" would "break down." They did not; they did not even bend.

The struggle continues over the hearts and minds of many Poles. It is a fact, however, underscored Mieczyslaw Rakowski, that antisocialist forces have not managed to halt the process of the normalization of social and political relations. In light of our experiences thus far we may conclude that the course outlined by the KC and the Politburo is yielding favorable results. This is the most important point.

Great new demands await us: the elections to people's councils. To a great extent, their results depend upon us, upon our real, informal activism. We hold many trump cards. Our opponent, that wishes once again to test his powers, does not have them. For several weeks now, the calls for election boycotts have grown louder and louder. To be truthful, such a demonstration of the moral downfall of antisocialist forces was to be expected. The appeal for an election boycott is an appeal for the assumption of an unpatriotic stance. It is the will to extend the period of the country's emergence from the crisis, the demand that society accept difficult and burdensome living conditions for many years to come. It is the demand that Poles agree to supply food for all anti-Polish and anticommunist forces that fall upon--as carrion--every fact, every occurrence that can show that Poland is an unsettled, unstable country, that it continues to be a sick organism in Europe. This is the real meaning of the call to boycott elections. Is this supposed to be a positive program?

It is another negative program. It continues the well-known 1981 position of total negation and actions contrary to the interests of People's Poland. Those that call for the boycott, said M. Rakowski, want a weak, sickly Poland. They want a Poland that begs humbly for some sort of place in Europe, for a place that absolutely does not correspond to the ambitions of a nation that takes pride in its past, with good reason. This is supposed to be patriotism!

I do not believe that any patriotically minded Pole subscribes to this program. Nor does anyone that still belongs today to the "silent majority."

Although we have achieved much, there is not and should not be any sense of self-satisfaction in our ranks. We cannot harbor the belief that it is time to take a rest. The party has been tested in ways that my generation, that of the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and PZPR, did not anticipate. We were not prepared mentally to take another test of maturity during the fourth decade of the existence of People's Poland. Nonetheless, we must take it. What's more, we must "ace" it, today and tomorrow. I am convinced, the deputy premier ended, that we will be able to pass this exam and that our opponents, both in Poland and abroad, will have to conclude that the attempt to change the course of history is doomed to fail.

Views of Mieczyslaw Luciak

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Member, PZPR KU [University Committee] and prorector of the Slask Medical Academy in Katowice]

[Text] Regarding the academic community, the Ninth Congress decisions are being implemented consistently and represent a plane enabling the activation of all that wish to improve the situation. One of the positive elements is, without a doubt, the preparation and gradual implementation of the law on higher education.

It should be stated, however, that the application of the law brings to light some of its imperfections, especially in the area of the real potential for implementing a rational cadre policy. Not only must these matters be discussed, but the appropriate decisions must be taken as soon as possible. The academic community likewise expects efforts to be stepped up on the other legal documents that are an integral part of the new laws.

On the negative side, some organizational ventures have been ineffective. We believe that progress in changing the structure of higher education and in implementing the concept of controlling scientific-technical progress has been too slow. It appears that the lack of community involvement, including that of party members, is one of the causes of the relatively slow rate of change.

To date we have not succeeded in working out a suitable methodology for party activity in the academic community. This refers especially to the cadre policy and to the party's exercise of its leadership role. This is particularly important in that the number of party members among academic employees and students declined considerably from 1980-1982. This shows the need for a wise long-range plan for rebuilding the party organization and especially for the active, unified participation of its members.

Society's respect for creative scientific work must be restored. The working class is a natural ally of scientific-technological progress. Thus, this work is of tremendous political, economic and social consequence. It serves to

integrate the working class and intelligentsia to assume joint national responsibility for the socialist state.

Academic institutions produce their own sort of product--awareness based on scientific principles. The development of rational thinking, based irrevocably on familiarity with the scientific process and the structuring of production forces in accordance with systems-type goals determines the aim of all countries to develop their own higher educational system even when this becomes a severe economic burden for them. Moreover, they treat the system not only as state institutions, but as state instruments.

Events of recent years have shown that the socialist character of the educational system of higher schools in our country has not been given enough consideration. A permanent restructuring of the educational system cannot take place without the active participation of the party and its leading role. Our party's duty is the essential task of improving the political climate in the academic community, as well as working to increase confidence in the solutions implemented by Polish science and technology and working to increase the share of the academic community in improving the work of the state administration and the national economy.

Statement by Tadeusz Trzmiel

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 7

[Member, PZPR Krakow Committee, director, MPK [Municipal Transportation Enterprise] in Krakow]

[Text] It is the opinion of most workforces of Krakow plants that the reform has created new kinds of conditions for revitalizing the economy. The first result of enterprise autonomy was the liberation of initiatives that broke down former barriers in the spheres of the consciousness, systems-type solutions, work organization, procurement and cutting costs.

Next the speaker gave the results of the implementation of costs cutting programs in the MPK and other Krakow plants. One of the more important directions of our party work, he said, is to expand activities towards increasing consumer good production and export production. This includes organizing work on work-free Saturdays.

The reform has ushered in a number of solutions specific to our region. However, we still must overcome many of the barriers placed by the direct and indirect opponents of the reform, both in plants and in the central and middle management elements. At the middle levels of management, there is still much verbalism, and even bureaucratic vagueness and red-tape.

The cooperation of industry and science is also a key element of the reform's implementation. An analysis conducted in Krakow has shown that the degree of involvement and utilization of scientific works is, unfortunately, very low compared with the outlays incurred. Comrade T. Trzmiel next gave examples of the well-conceived cooperation of industry and science.

Something new under current conditions is the coordination of joint initiatives of plants and academic institutions to embark upon and resolve specific tasks. The next step would be the cooperation of enterprise plant committees and the school committees of higher schools to support, inspire and offer the party's assistance in continuing this direction of activities.

The next issue is the need to define clearly the place and role of foreign trade in our economy. Export activity cannot emanate from the needs of the moment, but must become a permanent element of profit to the enterprise, its workforce and the state.

It also seems that the central organs managing the economy are working too slowly. In my consultative meetings before the conference, the remarks I heard most often referred to better financial and material planning, the more efficient production-task management of human resources and, finally, a clear, functional financial policy.

As a representative of the transportation community, I would like to point out that good municipal transportation is an important argument in the hands of the authorities. It is enough to recall 1980 and 1981 and the steps of Solidarity extremists against our MPK. Their goal was not only to disorganize city life, but they also could have led to forced work stoppages in other Krakow plants.

Recently, the transportation situation in Krakow has improved noticeably with the putting into service of the Ikarus busses. They are proving to be more efficient and better than the Berliet busses, produced under license from the West.

Speech of Jozef Drozdziel

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 pp 7,8

[Member, CKKP, first secretary of the PZPR KU at Warsaw Polytechnical University]

[Text] I wish to state the view that the central political and administrative leadership, in implementing policy on the state level and correctly aiming to strengthen and streamline central structures, is insufficiently ensuring and exercising authority at the lower levels. I am speaking primarily of the party's relationship to the state and economic administration as political authority.

The decisionmaking method has changed. This emanates from a number of legal documents and from the economic reform. Unfortunately, the party today does not possess instruments of influence adapted to this, especially in plants. It must have a method and specific kind of approach to the exercise of authority at every level. It must immediately undertake the battle over the party's internal health, over discipline, over greater sincerity and over giving greater consideration to how to act. The working class expects a wise, courageous party.

Over the past 40 years, we have invested in national education at a fairly great rate. However, we have been too simplistic in our approach here to the cadre and its ideological and ethical values. In making education universal and in eliminating regression in the worker and peasant communities, the party did not concern itself enough over the ethical and ideological aspects of those responsible for education and upbringing, from the primary schools through the higher schools. The social crisis in our country made the consequences of this fact painfully clear. That is why the 13th KC Plenum decision enjoining the KC to outline a long-term policy on national education this year was received with great interest and support.

The institution of higher learning was and is the forge of the intelligentsia. The face of the future Polish intelligentsia depends upon who brings up and teaches students and how this is done. In the academic community, that the state has given full autonomous and democratic status, by law, we observe phenomena that are negative morally and politically. Party organizations oppose activities that cannot be tolerated in a socialist institution. On the other hand, actions and decisions that ultimately are not in the interest of a state socialist institution of learning or are simply irrational, unfortunately comply with the legal status.

Here I express the opinion of the Warsaw Polytechnical University party organization that the question of the operational methods of the party in schools ought to be the object of greater interest on the part of party and state authorities, as well as being the effort of the party organizations themselves. The conditions that will be created over the next 2 or 3 years will determine whether the Ninth Congress resolution in the area of learning and higher education has been defended successfully.

The future of young people is at stake here. Who will direct the chairs and who will interpret our reality are at stake. Government policy in the sphere of science, technical progress and national education will be taken as seriously as will be the force of its link with real changes, including economic reform.

We must oppose views that say that our country's potential for innovation is insignificant and that the sources of evil lie only in the educational system, in the technological and investment backwardness of industry and in the lack of new solutions. The most serious problem in Poland is not the lack of innovative potential, but the lack of an effective system for embarking upon innovations and putting them into practice. Under such a poor system, science and education will always be funded poorly by the state.

Statement by Kazimierz Krefta

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 8

[First secretary, OOP [District Party Organization], marine engine assembler from the NAUTA Repair Shipyard in Gdynia]

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary Congress resolution of our party pointed out the importance of the marine economy. The Tenth KC Plenum comprehensively

addressed this issue and passed a resolution defining the goals and directions of state maritime policy, as well as economic and sociopolitical activities. We can say without exaggeration that for the first time in the history of People's Poland, issues of the sea and maritime management have attained very great importance, thanks to party decisions and actions.

Unfortunately, as a rule ministerial decisions and Planning Commission and bank decisions have not kept pace with party resolutions on the maritime management issue. It is known that the same principles of economic reform apply to the maritime economy as to the rest of the national economy. Nonetheless, some obligatory reform mechanisms and individual central decisions fail to take into account the distinct nature of the maritime economy and its enterprises. Why is it, for example, that the principles of granting credit to production shipyards do not take into account the fact that ships are built over a 2 or 3 year cycle, on the average? This causes shortages of current payment funds in shipyards that are exacerbated by delays in handing over ships, as a result of late deliveries by coproducers, of whom there are several hundred. In such a situation, there are often conditions threatening the shipyard's inability to pay, disruptions in production processes and further delays in construction. Similarly, one must ask why, during a period of economic reform, when cost effectiveness accounting is of such importance, this is not taken into consideration in decisions concerning the ship repair subsector.

The favorable economic results of the ship repair subsector, the needs of the Polish fleet and the potential for profitable export that is still not being used in full should mean priority treatment for this subsector for its further development. Meanwhile, today we do not even have conditions enabling us to halt the process of the depreciation of production assets and to recover dock potential.

A similar problem, the depreciation of fixed assets, is occurring in our seaports. In the Gdansk port, except for the North Port, the level of depreciation of fixed assets is 47 percent. Port investments are very capital-intensive, and the recovery of fixed assets funded by the ports themselves is impossible. They must be aided in this.

Due to its direct contact with the world economy, the maritime economy is especially vulnerable to crisis and economic situation fluctuations. An assessment of its results must also take into account the fact that its ultimate results are not always evident directly in the results of its enterprises, but are manifested on the scale of the entire national economy.

These circumstances apply fully to the Polish shipping line. Hence, a shipowner lacks the funds to purchase new ships in place of those that must go for scrap. The same is the case with deep-sea fishing, a very important field, since it is related to the strategic goal of feeding the nation.

I do not understand why a Polish shipowner purchasing a ship in a domestic shipyard is treated worse than a foreign shipowner. Why is it more profitable for a Polish shipowner to purchase ships abroad than in our shipyards?

Comments of Mirosław Tosik

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Mar 84 p 8

[Member, PZPR Lodz Committee executive board, textile engineer at the PAMOTEX Cotton Industry Plant in Pabianice]

[Text] In my address, I would like to address those issues that the reform is not resolving in the workplace. This refers, for example, to many spheres of nonproduction activity, such as the industrial health service, sports and the work of cultural institutions, nurseries, plant-sponsored preschools and the like.

Under the three "S's" program, when every zloty is examined twice before it is spent, one notes a decline in enterprise interest in this work. Each of these fields has at least two sources of financing, of which one is always the enterprise.

The work of sports clubs is covered both by a state budget subsidy and by the enterprise social fund for maintaining sports facilities (that, in the case of my plant, for example, absorbs 5 million zlotys per year from the social fund, i.e., nearly 50 percent of the compulsory deduction for this fund), and for employing athletes, often in fake positions.

The situation is similar with regard to the financing of other facilities. In no way do compulsory allowances for the social fund, established at 50 percent of the amount of 5,400 zlotys per employee, meet the basic social needs of the enterprise. Small wonder, then, that many plants have dropped the idea of conducting plant houses of culture, for example. This is at odds with the party's interest. It is through social work that workforces and self-governments understand the recreation subsidy.

Some improvement in the situation could be gained through the introduction of the principle of adding allowances for social goals to the amount of the average wage in a given enterprise. Perhaps it is also high time for work in the spheres of culture, sports, preschools and health care in industry to be funded entirely out of the state budget, via increased enterprise taxes. Then the enterprises can engage in production alone, which is the reason they were created.

Another reflection. I understand that we, as the party, stress social care for the weakest economic groups. More and more, however, workers are beginning to wonder whether we are spreading this protective mantle too wide, or whether we can afford such a program today. More and more is being said about the need to protect these or those social groups that generally produce no material goods, and nothing is said about those that do produce. Let us begin, then, to protect those that work. Let us create conditions enabling them to use their powers and energies in production work, and not to waste them standing in line in stores. For example, how does a worker that has stood in line in front of a butcher shop from 4 am, with the prospect of going to work at 1 pm, feel when, as the store opens, a group of women on paid upbringing leave

comes and buys up the goods, taking advantage of the privilege of priority?

It has been suggested here that party dues for pensioners be reduced. But many workers earn less than some pensioners take in.

Another problem that is not keeping pace with the economic reform in enterprises is the problem of protecting the natural environment. Monies from fines paid by enterprises flow into the state budget, and if an enterprise could not afford a treatment plant, it still cannot afford one. Should there not be regional funds for environmental protection? Other solutions also raise questions, such as the provision whereby in state enterprises, a .5 percent wage increase is not subject to the PFAZ [State Vocational Activization Fund] tax, if the increase results from a 1 percent increase in the worth of net sold production. Thus, a 10 percent enterprise wage increase requires a 20 percent increase in sales. This is impossible from year to year, especially for enterprises whose reserves are not large because they have done good work for years.

8536

CSO: 2600/878

END